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CEASE FIRE, WHAT NEXT?

Hopes for a political solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka are being expressed yet again. Whether those hopes will materialise into reality will depend on the preparedness of the Sri Lankan government to recognise, accept and meet the legitimate national aspirations and rights of the Tamil people.

The recent visit of President Jayawardene to New Delhi and his discussions with the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi would appear to have caused a sudden turn of events in Sri Lanka. Reports from Colombo indicate that the government has ordered a unilateral ceasefire and that the security forces would be withdrawn to the barracks.

Undeclared war

While the government of Sri Lanka has all along maintained that its security forces were directing their actions against the Tamil militants, what in fact was taking place was an undeclared ruthless war in the Tamil areas of the north and east of the country. The main brunt and thrust of this war was directed at the Tamil people as a whole. The imposition of a security zone, the creation of a prohibited zone along the northern coast, the enforcement of overnight curfews, the severe restrictions on movement of people and vehicles, the massive and almost daily indiscriminate killing, torture and detention of Tamil civilians, the mass evacuation of Tamils from areas where they have traditionally lived, the sending in of thousands of armed Sinhalese criminal elements into Tamil areas, and wanton destruction of Tamil homes and property all put together constituted nothing less than a total war upon the Tamil people. In this context 'ceasefire' may be an appropriate term for the action the government has proposed.

Indian role

Although the Tamil militant groups have so far not made any pronouncements in response to the new developments, there appears to be no doubt that the government's move was preceded by some sort of indication as to what the militants' response would be.

That India has played a vital role in this new development is not in doubt. The joint communique issued following the meeting between Rajiv Gandhi and Jayawardene placed emphasis on the need for the parties to take steps to defuse the current tense and violent situation. The present move seems to be in the direction of achieving just that.

In spite of the bogus bravado of the Sri Lankan National Security Minister, Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, it became increasingly clear to everyone that the government was not winning the battle against the Tamil militants who had, time and time again, demonstrated their capacity to strike even at places regarded as Sinhala heartlands and inflict heavy casualties upon the security forces. While political windbags indulged in mock heroics and empty rhetoric, the true professionals in the game distinctly saw the clear writing on the wall. Brigadier Nalin Seneviratne, the present Army Commander candidly admitted a few months ago, 'We can never win this. Our writ does not run beyond the sandbags that surround our camps and we can only do a holding operation.'

Anuradhapura massacre

Whoever carried out the Anuradhapura killings, it would appear to have had the effect of opening the eyes of some of the most obdurate extremist sections of the chauvinist Buddhist clergy. The reaction to this episode was one of sudden shock in its immediate aftermath, and later a gradual realisation that the violence and killing was not going to be one-sided all the time, that is, against the Tamils only. So, those sections, including the Buddhist clergy, which up to the Anuradhapura incidents vowed total eli-

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Tamil TIMES

TAMILS AS REFUGEES!

The arrival of over 1,000 Tamils in the United Kingdom during the last two months made banner headlines in the British media. The news of Tamils fleeing Sri Lanka to escape the unmitigated terror and persecution was highlighted in a rather exaggerated and distorted manner with uncontrolled journalistic licence with headlines such as 'Flood of Tamil Refugees' and 'Influx of Tamils'. The fact that those who came to the UK constituted only a fraction of over 40,000 Tamils who had sought refugee status in other countries, did not seem to matter to those who wanted to blow up the 'problem' out of all proportion. Compared with the thousands of British who emigrate every month, the arrival of about a thousand Tamils would have a negligible impact. This was completely ignored, if not deliberately concealed.

While the Home Secretary, Leon Brittan announced the imposition of an unprecedented visa requirement for Sri Lankans coming into the UK in order to satisfy the extreme reactionary right of the Tory party, many members of parliament, mainly of the Labour Party, British refugee, church and human rights organisations raised their voices in protest, demanding that the Tamil refugees be treated with humanitarian consideration.

However, not unexpectedly the Sri Lankan High Commissioner, Mr Chandra Monerawella, did not hesitate to put the boot in. He attributed the arrival of Tamil refugees to their intention 'to provoke a massive exodus to publicise their cause'. For him to claim that the Tamils in their thousands — the young and the old, women and children, rich and poor, individuals and whole families, the sick and the infirm leave the land of their birth and abandon their homes, vocations and their kith and kin and flee to foreign lands where their admission, stay or their future is wholly uncertain, only to publicise their cause, is as amazing as it is absurd.

That the Sri Lankan Ambassador who is in the UK to look after the interests of all Sri Lankans, including the Tamils, has shown such callous lack of humanitarian concern for the Tamil refugees only reflects his own government's total abdication of its obligation to provide at least physical security for the Tamil people within Sri Lanka.

The fact that over 200,000 Tamils of all ages have left Sri Lanka within the last few years demonstrates the serious disability and persecution to which they are subjected. To suggest that they are 'economic refugees' is to avoid facing the reality of the massive violence and violations which the Tamil people face in Sri Lanka. That only Tamils of all Sri Lankans are fleeing the country in such large numbers is the practical consequence of that reality.

No one can suggest with any degree of justification that people in their thousands would go to a poor country like India for 'economic reasons'. However, within the last two years over 100,000 Tamils have fled to neighbouring South India where they are housed in refugee camps.

The Tamil people of Sri Lanka are a people with a long and proud heritage speaking one of the oldest languages known to man and possessing an ancient and well developed culture. That such people should leave the country of their birth in their thousands seeking security in other lands only demonstrates the scale and enormity of the persecution they face in their own country.

KILLERS ON THE ROAD

The desperate plight of the minority Tamil population in Sri Lanka, which has caused tens of thousands to flee to India and Western Europe, was gruesomely illustrated on a bus journey from the beleaguered Northern Province yesterday.

A gang of about 20 murderous Sinhalese youths armed with iron bars stopped and surrounded our bus on a river bridge 105 miles north of Colombo. They were out Tamil-hunting.

Demanded identification

One of the young men hauled himself up through an open window and demanded to see identification cards of every male in the packed bus, which had left the Tamil border town of Vavuniya for the capital three hours earlier.

As the inspection went on, one of the youths pointed to a fire on the river bank below. 'Tamil body,' he said with a grin. The charred remains of a skeleton could still be seen among the burning branches and hot ashes.

The youth told me the man had been hauled out of a bus earlier that day. 'No Tamils can come through,' he said. There were none on our bus and as we drove off, he shouted: 'You lucky.' After a few light-hearted exchanges, the Sinhalese passengers departed to put the incident out of their minds.

Report by David Pallister, 'Guardian', 29.5.85)

HAYDEN DENIES SRI LANKA ALLEGATION

In response to the allegation made by the Sri Lankan Minister of National Security that Tamils residing in Australia were funding a 'terrorist' campaign in Sri Lanka, Mr Bill Hayden, the Australian Foreign Minister, during his recent visit to Sri Lanka, said: 'He was unable to produce any evidence to support that view

Not appropriate

On the other hand, Mr Hayden said the Sri Lankan High Commission in Australia had sent a letter to all Sri Lankans in that country appealing for funds towards the campaign against Tamil militants. 'My department spoke to the High Commission and said that it didn't seem appropriate for such a letter to go out from a diplomatic mission,' Mr Hayden said.

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WITHOUT COMMENT

Timothy Birch: We've got one other flash point in India's external politics, which looks to be explosive in the near future, and that's in Sri Lanka, where the Tamil separatist movement is becoming even more activist. Where violence is growing. Where, from what I understand, from our conversation earlier, there looks like the beginnings of a separatist state, supported by India. Can I ask you Dean Brelis, how you see that one developing?

Dean Brelis: Well, I think that the Tamil separatists will increase their numbers in the north. Will increase their military operations in the north, and in my view it's very much like the situation was in Vietnam, just before TET, when guerrillas escalate the war . from a guerrilla war to a conventional war, where they take and hold ground. And I expect to see these Tamil separatists announce that they have . . . a declaration of an independent state called Eelam(?). I think that the danger point is what will happen to the Tamils in the south. July 1983, the Sinhalese turned on them, ruthlessly, and they will do the same thing again, I'm sure, if the Sinhalese Army in the north is losing, as it surely will lose, because they've not been able to contain the growth of the Tamil separatist movement.

When this happens, Rajiv Gandhi will have to make a decision on whether or not to send the Indian Army in there, to make a de facto state in as shorter time, say some Indian officers, as six hours. A six-hour war, and then present the fact to the United Nations and ask for a United Nations Force to come in, to let Tamils from the south come up into the north, and then to negotiate. Because there are no negotiations, no talks now.

Birch: Is there considerable Congress rapport with the Tamils? There was speculation, August, September of last year, that Mrs Gandhi would do exactly the same thing. Send the Indian Army into Sri Lanka before the elections. One presumes that momentum continues and the rapport between her son and the Tamils in the north continues?

Brelis: The rapport definitely continues. He has said, publicly, on several occasions, that he does not want to have military intervention by the Indian Army, into Sri Lanka, but he has also expressed his concern about what's happening to the Tamils of Sri Lanka. He, I think, will feel that if they're slaughtering Tamils by the hundreds and thousands in the south, he will have no choice. All of India will tell him to go in. And it'll be very much like the Bangladesh situation, and there is no question about it, I don't think it's too optimistic for Indian Army officers to say they would end it in six hours. I think they've got that military capability.

(This is the text of an interview given by Mr Dean Brelis, New Delhi Bureau Chief of TIME magazine, broadcast over New Zealand radio on March 26, 1985

TAMIL NADU BISHOPS APPEAL TO RAJIV

An appeal to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to help find a solution to 'rescue the helpless Tamils of Sri Lanka', has been made by 13 Catholic Bishops of Tamil Nadu. Most Rev. V.S. Selvanathar, Archbishop of Pondicherry-Cuddalore and President of the Tamil Nadu Bishops Conference has signed the appeal on behalf of Most Rev. Dr. R. Arulappa, Archbishop of Madras-Mylapore, Most Rev. Justin Diraviam, Archbishop of Madurai, and ten other Bishops representing all other dioceses.

The Bishops have drawn particular reference to the 'murder of a Catholic priest in Mannar' on 6th January

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mination and the wiping out of the Tamil militants began calling upon the government to commence discussions with the Tamil militant leaders. Those who reviled at India soon suggested seeking the Indian government's assistance to start negotiations. Rajiv Gandhi was only too willing to extend this help.

'Cessation of hostile action' by the parties means nothing unless concrete steps are actually taken to deal with the fundamentals of the national question in Sri Lanka. The resolution of this question will ultimately depend upon the extent of self-government for the Tamil people in their traditional homelands.

ONE IN A THOUSAND

In the aftermath of the attack on Jaffna police station on 10th April 1985, by the freedom fighters, innocent civilians were once again the targets of retaliation by the Security Forces. Though this time is was on a much reduced scale, among the few killed and the many seriously injured was a major Seminarian studying for priesthood, Reverend Bro. Karunaratnam. He escaped certain death because of the compassionate attitude of a soldier.

Rosary

While travelling in public transport at about 4.00 p.m. on 12th April, Brother Karunaratnam sustained severe shot-gun injuries in his neck and shoulder when an army convoy fired at the innocent occupants. He was then transferred into the Army truck. On examining the documents of identity in his possession, a compassionate soldier found a rosary which he wrapped round the neck of the injured victim, and made him feign dead. Being moved with compassion, the 'good Samaritan' managed to find him a safe 'inn' by throwing the victim pretending to be dead into a roadside bush. The following morning the helpless victim was removed to the Jaffna General Hospital, where an emergency operation was performed on his throat and shoulder. He attributes the narrow escape from certain death to the powerful weapon — the rosary.

SUICIDE BY DISMISSED STRIKERS

More than 50 government employees who were dismissed following the July 1980 strike committed suicide, according to a memorandum sent to President Jayawardene by the Government Clerical Service Union.

Working conditions

When over 50,000 civil servants belonging to several unions went on strike in July 1980 demanding improvement of their working conditions, the so-called Dharmista govenrment of President Jayawardene, using emergency powers, dismissed them. Several thousands of them still remain unemployed, undergoing great hardship. The majority of the strikers not yet reinstated belong to the Departments and Ministries under the control of Prime Minister R. Premadas and the President.

The GCSU has in its memorandum pointed out that, in addition to those who had committed suicide, over 200 of the dismissed strikers had met with untimely deaths during the last few years.

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ON-THE-SPOT REPORTS BY 'THE GUARDIAN'

100s KILLED IN MASSACRE OF TAMILS 25,000 homeless

More than 100 Tamils, including women and children, have been killed in a week and about 25,000 made homeless by Sri Lankan security forces and Sinhalese mobs armed by solidiers, Tamil leaders said yesterday.

According to sources in Trincomalee, who asked not to be identified because of fear of retaliation, between 150 and 200 Tamils, all of them men under 40, were detained by the security forces and there are fears that they too might have been killed. Twenty-three villages are said to have been attacked and 1,000 homes set on fire.

In the Tamil village of Mallikaitivu, the charred shells of 90 homes were still smouldering four days after what local people said was an attack by 75 soldiers and 200-strong Sinhalese mob. The young man of Mallikaitivu pointed out the spots where they said four village elders, aged 90, 85, 70 and 65, had been shot dead because they had been too old to run away.

Pools of dried blood were testimony to the killing of Tamil civilians last week in the Trincomalee district, reports of which have been dismissed as 'false', 'highly exaggerated' and 'malicious', by the Sri Lankan government.

In Mallikaitivu, only small groups of young men had returned to the village to salvage belongings not looted or destroyed in last Tuesday's attack. Women, children and old men were still hiding in the jungle. Such is the climate of fear that on Saturday morning when my vehicle slowly approached the village along the pitted, pot-holed road from Mutur, eight miles away, everyone fled across the paddy fields from which the villagers earned their living. Only when they discovered that troops had not come back to wreak more havoc, did the villagers return.

They said the troops and the Sinhalese mob arrived at midday last Tuesday and spent three hours systematically going from house to house using petrol bombs and paraffin to set them ablaze. Ten of the brick-built homes were spared, but they were looted of most of their contents.

Two small Hindu temples were also burned out as well as the home of the village's Hindu priest. Only the co-operative stores and schools were left unscathed as most of the 2,000 population headed for safety in the thick jungle that surrounds Mallikaitivu. Numerous makeshift huts used by labourers were also burnt down.

One of the villagers broke down and wept as he led me through his tidy, well-kept garden into what remained of his four-roomed house. Rubble and roof tiles covered the floor. Torn books were strewn everywhere. He said: 'We had nothing to do with the Tamil militants before. We all lived quiet, peaceful lives. Now all we can do is join the militants and fight back. We have nothing left.'

Tamil sources say that 10 other villages around Mallikaitivu were des-

AN URGENT APPEAL

☆ SRI LANKAN SECURITY FORCES AND POLICE COMMANDOS HAVE WROUGHT HAVOC AND DESTRUCTION IN THE TRINCOMALEE, MUTHUR, AKKARAIPATHU AND BATTICALOA AREAS OF THE EASTERN PROVINCE.

☆ TENS OF THOUSANDS OF TAMILS HAVE LOST THEIR HOMES AND ALL THEIR POSSESSIONS.

☆ THEY HAVE BECOME REFUGEES IN THEIR OWN HOMELAND.

☆ APPEALS FOR ASSISTANCE ON THEIR BEHALF ARE POURING IN

The Standing Committee of Tamil Speaking People (SCOT) appeals to all to contribute generously towards the relief and rehabilitation of the affected people. All donations will be individually acknowledged.

Send your contributions to:

SCOT
24 Brook Avenue
Edgware,
Middlesex HA8 9XF
United Kingdom

THEY NEED YOUR HELP

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AND 'DAILY TELEGRAPH' CORRESPONDENTS

troyed last Tuesday. There is no telephone link with the village and communication is by post or word of mouth. Most vehicles are off the road because of petrol rationing. The villagers can travel only by foot, bicycle or bullock cart, and their sense of isolation and vulnerability to further attack is immeasurable.

Living in classrooms

In Mutur, a fishing and farming village ten miles across Koddiyar Bay from Trincomalee, 495 homeless Tamils, mostly old men, women and children, including some babies, were living in classrooms at the secondary schools. Although they had running water, most of them had not eaten for four days, despite government promises of emergency supplies of food. And although stocks of flour had been stockpiled at the jetty, from where an infrequent boat service ran to Trincomalee, none had been distributed by Saturday afternoon.

Most of the refugees were sleeping on the concrete floor of the classrooms and three Carmelite nuns from St Teresa's Convent nearby were trying to organise emergency supplies of blankets and clothes, although what was available was very limited. One of the refugees said: 'People will starve to death soon unless something is done. There is no one to protect us. We are worried the troops might come back and kill us.' Officials estimate there are 6,000 Tamil refugees in the 350 square mile Mutur area and that 4,000 have taken refuge in the jungle.

Local people attribute the tension to the arrival on April 5 of a detachment of troops who commandeered the assistant government agent's office and erected sand-bag machine-gun emplacements on look-out towers at the corners of the heavily guarded compound. Soldiers I saw patrolling in Army vehicles over the week-end were mostly dressed in civilian clothes and not combat fatigues.

Many Tamils fear that there is an orchestrated campaign to force them to leave their traditional areas outside the Jaffna Peninsula following incidents in Trincomalee and earlier violence in Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullaittivu and Batticaloa.

Tamils, however, say the violence began after 39 Tamil youths were arrested by police in the villages of Thanganagar and Kiliveddi on May 31. Thirty-eight of the youths were allegedly subsequently shot dead on a bridge 18 miles away.

('Daily Telegraph', 10.6.85)

TAMIL VILLAGES BURNED & LOOTED

A dozen villages in the predominantly Tamil-speaking East Province of Sri Lanka have been burned and looted by the security forces and armed Sinhalese vigilantes in the past 10 days in retaliation for attacks by Tamil guerrillas. More than 15,000 Tamils have fled into the surrounding jungle or to the relative safety of the Muslim town of Mutur. At least 1,000 Sinhalese fishermen and their families have also deserted their villages for refugee camps in the port city of Trincomalee.

During a visit to the Trincomalee area at the weekend, it was clear that the scale of the reprisals and the general climate of fear has prevented even local people from being able to assess the casualty figures. But some Tamil civilians have been killed in the raids. In one village, 20 Tamil males, aged between 13 and 40 who were arrested by the army on May 30, have not been heard of since.

Deserted town centre

On Saturday morning, my old powder-blue Morris Minor taxi from Trincomalee was the first vehicle to take that road for a week. Kuchchaveli used to have a population of 6,000 people, mainly Tamil but with about 20 per cent Sinhalese and Muslim. Our arrival in the deserted town centre, with half-demolished houses and burnt-out shops, caused a mild panic at the forces' headquarters.

My Muslim driver and his two Sinhalese friends were taken away to separate rooms and interrogated about their reasons for coming. A group of sailors and soldiers, some dressed only in shorts and carrying .303 rifles, curtly ushered me into the barbed-wire compound to meet the young army captain and his navy commander.

Killed in crossfire

They relaxed only after radioing through for instructions to the navy headquarters in Trincomalee. The commander explained that the people living within a 100-yard radius of the rest-house had been told to leave in order to create a 'security zone' round the base. 'The terrorists came very close with mortars and grenade launchers,' he said. 'Some people were killed in the crossfire.'

It was apparent, however, that not a single Tamil remained in the town. 'We did a sweeping-up operation afterwards,' the captain said. And did they take any prisoners? 'There are no prisoners of war here,' he replied narrowing his eyes, 'but I did get a few souvenirs.' He refused to elaborate, but the message was made clear: 'We cannot tolerate any Tamils here. They will tell the terrorists about our defences.'

Mr K. Siva Palan, the president of the citizens' committee — a sort of informal welfare network in Tamil areas — has lost two of seven sons in Sri Lanka's communal troubles. One was shot by security forces last month outside his home. Mr Siva and several members of his family were recently arrested for a day after talking to two Swedish journalists.

('The Guardian', June 11, 1985)

TROOPS 'BACK MOB ATTACK' ON TAMILS

Sinhalese mobs, backed by security forces, attacked more than a dozen Tamil villages in eastern Sri Lanka, killing at least 80 people and burning more than 600 homes, United News of India reported yesterday.

The raids took place on Tuesday near the port city of Trincomalee in the eastern province. Eleven Tamil villages were burned down, while three others were partially destroyed, reports reaching the capital Colombo said.

More than 6,000 people left homeless took shelter in schools, temples and churches, the news agency said. About 1,000 people fled into the jungle. The report quoted Tamil sources in Trincomalee as saying that the attacks were carried out by armed Sinhalese mobs backed by government security forces. Many of the assailants reportedly carried government-issued guns.

The government issued firearms to Sinhalese civilians following attacks in the area by Tamil separatist guerrillas. There have been a series of recent attacks and counter-attacks on Tamil and Sinhalese villages in the Trincomalee area.

('The Guardian', June 6, 1985)

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A COMMENT

TRADITIONAL HOMELANDS OF THE TAMILS OF SRI LANKA

The Sri Lankan government recently announced its plans to settle Sinhalese in the northern and eastern provinces to reflect the nationwide population ratio of 75% Sinhalese to 25% minorities. The publicly declared intention of this exercise is to 'demolish the concept of traditional Tamil homelands once and for all'. Already thousands of Sinhalese, trained and armed by the government have been sent to colonise the Tamil aras. Those who had already settled in these areas under state-sponsored 'colonisation schemes' have been provided with guns and other lethal weapons. The current wave of carnage of Tamils in the Trincomalee and Muthur areas in the eastern province is the joint venture of Sri Lankan security forces and armed Sinhala 'settlers' in pursuance of the policy of demolishing the claim of Tamil homelands.

In this article, a university don argues the case for the northern and eastern provinces being homelands of the Tamil people on the basis of historical reality.

National identity and communal consciousness are generated by a number of factors of which historical memory is one. In assessing historical significance of nationality, what is important is the perception of a people of its historical antecedents. Sinhala and Tamil people in Sri Lanka have different and sometimes conflicting memories of their past and no amount of contemporary polemics will deny the validity of one or the other.

Much of Sri Lankan history has been based on myths and legends which were preserved in Buddhist chronicles written in Pali and Sinhalese. Most of the historians of early Sri Lanka relied uncritically on these chronicles, particularly the 'Mahavamsa' and the 'Chulavamsa'. Much has happened in the 1970s and 1980s in archaeological work and in the critical examination of myths and legends. A new generation of historians is re-examining the foundations of civilisation in Sri Lanka and this has rendered archaic much of the known early history of the island. The most prominent of these scholars are Professor Leslie Gunawardena, Dr Senake Bandaranayake, Dr Susantha Goonatilake, Dr W.I. Sriniweena, Prof Liyanagamage, Prof K. Indrapala and Dr S. Pathmanathan.

Myth of Aryan descent

Their writings explore the myth of Aryan descent of the Sinhala, the plurality of the origins of civilisation in Sri Lanka, the almost contemporaneous presence of Dravidian people and settlers from north India from the very earliest periods, the myth of unified sovereignty over the whole island, the existence of several dynastic kingdoms contemporaneously in many parts of the island, the role of South India in the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, the myth of Sinhala-Tamil conflicts and a heap of other issues which put in proper perspective the pluralism of culture in Sri Lanka*.

Professor Leslie Gunawardena, in an important article, has shown how in the 20th century, Sinhala politicians popularised and exploited myths and legends to give a racial ideology to Sinhala nationalism (R.A.L.H. Gunawardena, 'People of the Lion', 'The Sinhala Identity and Ideology in History and Historiography', *Sri Lankan Journal of Humanities*, V, Nos.1 & 2 (1979) pp.1-36). This theme of racial use of history has also been taken up by other scholars such as Prof. Kumari Jayawardena. It is to be hoped that people interested keep up with the latest enlightened thinking in Sri Lanka on these matters and put their influence on the side of a genuine liberal nationalism rather than repeat hoary myths and out-dated legends which only foster racism. It is amusing that some persons talk of expeditions abroad by kings of Sri Lankan kingdoms. If they were to follow what happened to some of these expeditions, particularly those of Parakrama Bahu I to Burma and to South India, they may not be so enthusiastic!

Though the Tamils had existed in the island of Sri Lanka from the middle of the first millenium B.C., the growth of their consciousness as a separate people in a Sri Lankan milieu dates from the Tamil Kingdom of Jaffna around 1250. Thereafter the kingdom existed as an independent political entity until overthrown by the Portuguese in 1621. The kings of Jaffna had close relations with a number of South Indian kingdoms, including the Pandyan Kingdom, the Vijayanagar Empire, the Nayakdoms of Tanjore, Madura and Mysore, and the Zamorin of Calicut. On some occasions they paid tribute to those kings, in return for assistance of one form or the other. Kings of Jaffna also had relations with the Kingdoms of the south — Kotte, Gampola and Kandy. On various occasions, Kings of Jaffna, when they felt able to do so, invaded the south and occupied parts of Sinhala territory for brief periods. On other occasions, kings of the south, especially of Kotte, invaded the north. One of these invasions, by Parakrama Bahu VI, was successful for a brief period but at his death the old Jaffna dynasty recaptured the kingdom.

The Kingdom of Kandy continued to exist in the interior of the island, after the destruction of the kingdoms of Kotte and Jaffna. As the only indigenous ruler in the island, the coastal territories having been conquered by the Portuguese and then the Dutch, the king claimed overlordship of the whole island and added many of its districts to his title, including places like Colombo and Galle which were ruled by the Portuguese and the Dutch. These claims were not taken seriously. In traditional Indian kingship, it was not what you claimed but what you administered that mattered.

The Portuguese claimed sovereignty over the territories ruled by the Kingdom of Jaffna by right of conquest and these rights passed on to the Dutch and then to the British. Portuguese chroniclers like Queyroz and Couto, in their potted histories, used fragments of Sinhalese 'chronicles' like the 'Rajavaliya' and 'Pujavaliya' which naturally exaggerated the territorial claims of the Kotte kings who were the patrons of the authors of the chronicles. This entire evidence has been considered in a monograph on *The Kingdom of Jaffna*, by S. Pathmanathan (Jaffna 1878, Ph.D thesis, University of London).

Major demographic movement

Thus from about the 13th century, a major demographic movement took place in Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese drifted towards the southern, western and central regions and the Tamils to the northern and eastern coastal belts. *The situation has been virtually frozen in this fashion for 700 years.* The only exception to this was the migration of about a million Tamils from south India to the plantations of the central highlands in the 19th and 20th centuries.

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The question of traditional homelands of a people is a highly complex one and some people show no effort to understand and appreciate the feelings of minority communities in this respect. When multi-ethnic communities are brought together into a unitary state, mechanisms should be devised to preserve the integrity of each of the constituent units. In multi-ethnic states like those in the Balkans, the Soviet Union, India, autonomy of diverse levels is conceded to these self-sufficient ethnic or linguistic groups to provide them with security and to integrate them into the larger polity.

After independence, the Ceylon and Sri Lankan governments set about senselessly to change the country's demographic balance. One is not talking here of the right of private citizens to buy and own property in any part of the country. This has never been in question and it has gone on peacefully for decades and will continue, given the right climate of communal relations. One is talking of state-sponsored and state-financed systematic colonisation by which an alien ethnic group is brought in large numbers and planted in the midst of an existing group. This has gone on systematically since 1950 and the consequence has been to reduce Tamils from a majority into a minority in some districts.

Accommodating grievances

It should be clear to anyone concerned with the question of national integration that such a policy is most disturbing to a minority, particularly as that minority has settled and established itself in that area for over 700 years. Many liberal and fair-minded Sinhalese have accepted this and, at least on two occasions, Sinhala national leaders have incorporated this in the agreement they entered into with the Tamils. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike and Dudley Senanayake were prepared to go some way to accommodating Tamil grievances in this respect.

The Tamil efforts to keep inviolate what they consider their traditional homelands should be seen in the context of an aggressive Sinhalese nationalism and hegemony in the whole island. They have seen this Sinhala nationalism claim for itself a greater and greater share of the political and economic cake, using its majority status to push minorities out of several avenues of participation. The Tamils want to defend their rights at their territorial frontiers and this is something that every Sinhalese will have to understand.

* For some of their conclusions, see 'Ethnicity and Social Change in Sri Lanka' (Colombo 1984)

TAMILS MUST BE ALLOWED TO STAY IN U.K. —AMNESTY

Amnesty International's British Section is calling on the UK government to grant 'exceptional leave' to Tamils who apply for asylum in this country. AI continues to oppose the return of any Tamils to Sri Lanka against their will. They could be at risk of being killed, arrested or tortured, it argues.

The British Section has also raised with the government the question of alleged military sales to Sri Lanka — and has asked what steps have been taken to prevent UK manufactured equipment being used for human rights' abuses by Sri Lankan authorities.

Grounds of fear

In January this year, AI produced the most recent in a line of publications on human rights concerns in Sri Lanka. Entitled 'Reports on Recent violations of Human Rights and Amnesty International's Opposition to Refoulement of the Tamil Community to Sri Lanka', the document describes incidents of extra-judicial killings, reports of arbitrary arrests and detentions and allegations of ill-treatment and torture of members of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka from August 1984 until the end of the year.

Governments should not send back to Sri Lanka members of the Tamil minority who have expressed a fear of returning home or who are seeking political asylum, says the report. AI continues to oppose the 'refoulement' (return) of Tamils to Sri Lanka because it believes that, if returned against their will, all members of the Tamil minority have reasonable grounds to fear that they may fall victim to arbitrary killings by members of the security forces, could be subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention, and could, following arrest, be subjected to torture or other ill-treatment if the security forces believe they have any knowledge of Tamil extremist groups.

The report is particularly timely for the British section of AI, which together with a number of other organisations in the UK concerned with refugees from Sri Lanka, has been pressing David Waddington, Minister of State at the Home Office, to grant Tamils who apply for asylum in Britain exceptional leave to remain in the UK for a period of at least six months.

Meanwhile, MP Dafydd Wigley has tabled an early day motion on this question in the Commons, which it is hoped AI members will bring to the attention of their own MPs, asking for their support. It says: 'That this House, being concerned about the human rights violations and the continuing and increasing threats to the lives and security of the Tamil population in Sri Lanka, notes that Her Majesty's Government have failed to guarantee the security of Tamils who have sought refuge in the UK by delaying decisions and by keeping many Tamils on temporary admission for over 12 months without resolving their applications; and calls on Her Majesty's Government to institute immediately an exceptional policy by granting leave to remain in the UK to Tamils who express a fear to return to Sri Lanka while the present situation continues, and to consider with care any application for refuge status.

Courtesy of AMNESTY, April/May 1985

TAMIL VILLAGE EVACUATED FOR 'FREE-FIRE ZONE'

A proposal that will make refugees of more than 20,000 Tamils has been announced by the government of Sri Lanka. The proposal involves the area around the little town of Chettikulam where 20,700 Tamils make their homes.

Chettikulam is situated north of Anuradhapura, a town inhabited predominantly by Sinhalese and South of the Tamil dominated town of Vavuniya. Under the proposal, the entire people living in and around Chettikulam will be compelled to evacuate to the north, thus creating what the Sri Lankan military described as a free-fire zone.

It will be noted that US troops created 'free-fire zones' in Vietnam by completely destroying populated villages.

This proposal constitutes by far the largest movement of people yet undertaken by the government in forcing the Tamils to evacuate from areas where they have traditionally lived.

It is learnt that the Tamil Cabinet Ministers S. Thondaman and K.W. Devanayakam expressed their strong opposition to this proposal but the government would appear to have remained unmoved.

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NON-DISCRIMINATION & SELF- DETERMINATION

Until very recently, how a state treated its nationals was a matter entirely and exclusively within its own concern. For instance, it was possible for Adolf Hitler to conceive of an Aryan Germany freed of Semitic influence. It was also possible for him to proceed, with very little obstruction and consequently with remarkable success, to implement his policy of physically liquidating persons of Jewish origin, not only in Germany, but also in those European countries which he rapidly brought under German domination. He had found the final solution to an ethnic problem, and he had been able to implement it successfully.

But from the revulsion which grew when the world regained its sanity, there emerged certain norms and standards which were designed to ensure that there would never be a repetition of Auschwitz and Sachsenhausen. These norms and standards now form part of a growing body of international law for the enforcement of which the international community has assumed responsibility.

A government's behaviour towards its own nationals is now regulated by international treaties. And, in 1981, the government of Sri Lanka voluntarily declared to the international community that, in the matter of the treatment of its nationals, it would honour, respect, and abide by these norms and standards. In other words, the government of Sri Lanka brought itself within the jurisdiction of international human rights law when it subscribed to, and ratified, the two international human rights covenants. Consequently, two principles of international human rights law which now regulate the relationship between different ethnic groups living in the same country are those of non-discrimination and self-determination.

Discrimination

The principle of non-discrimination means that as between persons similarly circumstanced, or of comparable capacity, neither law nor executive action may discriminate on the basis of race, language or religion. This principle may perhaps be better understood if it is applied to some of the areas which, in the Sri Lankan context, are regarded as particularly sensitive.

For instance, in the academic year 1983/84, 530 students from schools in Colombo, Jaffna, Galle, Matara and Kandy, who had qualified, on their raw marks, for admission into the faculties of medicine, science and engineering, were excluded from the universities of Sri Lanka in order to accommodate 519 other students from so-called 'under-privileged districts' who had obtained lesser marks. Of these 530 excluded students, 198 were from Jaffna and 224 from Colombo. If we assume that approximately one-third of those excluded from Colombo schools were also Tamils, the total number of excluded Tamil students would be 273 or 51.6 per cent: a result which leads irresistably to the conclusion that, in the matter of university admissions, the principle of non-discrimination had been violated. On the other hand, if while giving effect to the under-privilegd district quota system, it had been possible, by increasing the intake into the universities, to accommodate these 530 students as well, Sri Lanka would probably have been acting in accordance with international norms and standards, and, what is more important, healing a festering sore in our multi-ethnic society.

by
Nihal Jayawickrama

So it is in the matter of public employment. The government clerical service was once a popular outlet for the educated Tamil youth who did not aspire to a university education, but sought a habitation and a source of income away from the arid soil of his northern home. But, according to the Department of Census and Statistics, between the years 1977 and 1981; of 9,965 persons recruited into the clerical service, 9,326 (or 93.6 per cent) were Sinhalese and 492 (or 4.9 per cent) were Tamils.

A caricature

What is the remedy available to a citizen who believes that he is being discriminated against because he belongs to a particular ethnic group?

If a government lacks the will or the capacity to prevent such discrimination by executive action, the only remedy perhaps is an enforceable Bill of Rights. Indeed, in many countries of the Commonwealth, from the Caribbean to the Pacific, a Bill of Rights has been regarded for many years as a viable safeguard against discrimination. Unfortunately, in this respect too, we fall far short of international norms and standards. We have a caricature of a Bill of Rights. I use that term advisedly because our Bill of Rights contained in the Constitution is: **firstly**, not comprehensive; **secondly**, subject to derogation in a wide variety of circumstances; **thirdly**, a substantial part of it can be rendered inoperative by executive fiat under the Public Security Ordinance; **fourthly**, it is not enforceable even in respect of proposed legislation if such legislation is certified by the Cabinet, as it has often been done, to be urgent in the national interest; **sixthly**, it is not enforceable in respect of executive or administrative action initiated by the President; and **seventhly**, it is not enforceable even in respect of any other executive or administatrative action if such is taken in pursuance of a power conferred by law.

Self-determination

The principle of self-determination is contained in Article 1 of the UN Charter and in Article 1 of each of the Human Rights Covenants, to all of which the government of Sri Lanka now subscribes. It means that cohesive ethnic groups have the right to choose for themselves a form of political organisation, and through such organisation to freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. It is important to note that the right to choose a particular political organisation is that of the ethnic group concerned. That choice cannot be usurped by a group of militant activists, or by other ethnic groups; nor can it be foisted by an All-Party or Round Table Conference.

Under international law, that choice may take one of several forms; it could be independence as a separate state; or association with other ethnic groups in a federal state; or autonomy or assimilation in a unitary state. However, if the ethnic group concerned already has a home within the territorial boundaries of a sovereign and independent state; and if that state has a government which is representative of all the people irrespective of race and if that government respects the twin principles of non-discrimination and self-determination; then, the choice of that ethnic group does not extend to the creation of a separate state.

Sri Lanka on thin ice

Accordingly, if the law as I have described is applied to the Sri Lankan situation, some may feel that, having regard to recent measures adopted in the Northern Province in particular, and to others which have been prop-

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osed, we are indeed skating on very thin ice. Therefore, it appears to me that, if we are to get back to the good earth, certain very positive and urgent steps require to be taken:

1. The Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, which has had the effect of preventing the Tamil-speaking people of the Northern and Eastern provinces from being represented in Parliament, must be repealed.
2. The Prevention of Terrorism act and any other statutory provision which deny to the Tamil speaking people of the Northern and Eastern Provinces the benefit of the general law of the country, must be repealed.
3. The existing Bill of Rights must be enlarged to make it an effective weapon against racial discrimination.
4. The Tamil speaking people of the Northern and Eastern provinces must be given an opportunity of determining, by plebiscite or by referendum, the degree and form of autonomy they desire to have. This is a decision which they alone have the right to make. However, if their decision is not regional autonomy or assimilation in the existing unitary state, but association in a federal state, then, naturally, that decision will become effective only if it receives the concurrence of those with whom they seek to federate.

Swiss experience

In this connection, it is interesting to reflect on the experience of a country which we often seek to emulate. I refer to the Swiss Confederation of 6 million people, less emotional and more disciplined than us, of whom 75 per cent speak German, and 20 per cent speak French. In the predominantly German-speaking Protestant canton of Berne, one of the 23 Cantons that make up the Swiss Confederation, the French-speaking Catholic minority who lived in the Jura mountain regions decided that it was time to separate. The separatist struggle of the Jurassien minority followed the traditional and familiar pattern: separatist demonstrations to draw world attention to Bernese oppression; an army presence in the Jura pasture-lands; bomb attacks on military barracks and railway lines; unpleasant and awkward questions to Jurassien refugees seeking asylum in Latin America; a drop in tourism. It was time for the pragmatic Swiss, who have always had a distaste for the politics of confrontation, to take stock of the situation.

In 1967, a commission of inquiry was appointed to investigate and report on all aspects of the problem, a task which that commission performed within a year after extensive consultations with the relevant interest groups. The next step was the appointment of a federal mediation commission, on whose recommendation a series of plebiscites were held. At the first plebiscite, the people of the Jura region were asked, 'Do you want to establish a new Canton?' 50.7 voted in favour, while 46.9 voted against. At the second plebiscite, which was held at a district level, three border Jurrassian districts voted to remain in the canton of Berne. At the third plebiscite, ten communes changed their district and with it the Canton. Finally, in 1978, 82 per cent of the Swiss voters and all the Swiss Cantons approved of the admission of the new Canton of Jura into the Swiss Confederation. By the application of the politics of consensus, the Swiss people had preserved the territorial integrity and the political unity of their federal state. It is a lesson in pragmatism which our political leadership would do well to understand.

The real issue

I have made no reference to the subject of terrorism, because terrorism is not the real issue that should confront the government. To describe the real issue, I can do no better than quote the words of the UNP Manifesto in 1977:

'The United National Party accepts the position that there are numerous problems confronting the Tamil-speaking people. The lack of a solution to their problems has made the Tamil-speaking people support even a movement for the creation of a separate state. In the interest of national integration and unity so necessary for the economic development of the whole country, the Party feels such problems should be solved without loss of time. The Party, when it comes to power, will take all possible steps to remedy their grievances in such fields as education, colonisation, use of the Tamil language and employment in the public and semi-public corporation sectors.'

We all know that these grievances have not been remedied. That was the rationale for the All Party Conference. But problems cannot be solved by All Party Conferences. They have to be met fairly and squarely by a Government and then resolved with the advice and consent of a Parliament. It is in Parliament that problems are examined and alternative solutions discussed, because Parliament reflects the balance of power that prevails and the forces that operate within a country at any given time. But if Parliament has become sterile, because a general election which alone can give it vitality and authority has not been duly held, then, the remedy is not an All Party Conference, in the hope that it could be a substitute for Parliament, but a general election, which will determine the contemporary balance of power and identify the forces which have a relevance in society at the present time.

Deteriorating problem

Whether or not a general election is held in the foreseeable future, the answer to the rapidly deteriorating ethnic problem appears to be not in attempting to change the population pattern of the north, or in creating a new frontier breed of gun-toting Sinhala Buddhists, or in making a sacrificial offering, from the relative comfort and security of the south into the war zones of the north, of young Sinhala men in the prime of their life, in the confident hope that before they lay down their own lives, they would kill a few equally idealistic young Tamil men, and thereby make this thrice blessed isle a safer, happier and more righteous place for all of us to live in. It seems to me that the only answer can be expressed in two very simple, but pregnant, words: non-discrimination and self-determination.

DISCRIMINATION

We frequently hear that some Tamils occupy high places in the administrative and judicial services. This is often cited as proof that the Tamil community is not discriminated against in the field of employment. How far is this a valid argument?

It must be remembered that those now occupying the higher echelons of the Public Service are those who joined the service 25 to 30 years ago when there was fair selection purely on merit, and have reached the top with the efflux of time by a process of promotion which could not be easily tampered with?

In the Sri Lanka Administrative Service selection for 1985 ('Island', 24 April) the figures are: Limited Competitive Examination: No. selected 20, Tamils nil. Open Competitive Examination: 58 Sinhalese, 1 Tamil, 1 Muslim. The figures speak for themselves.

Anti-Humbug,
Jaffna

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POINT OF VIEW

THE STRUGGLE FOR EELAM

The Legitimacy of Indian Concern

Every dictatorial regime violating human rights in recent times has sought refuge in the twin principles of sovereignty and domestic jurisdiction to hide its misdeeds. South Africa denies the competence of the rest of the world to show concern with apartheid on the ground that it is a sovereign state and that what happens within its borders is of no concern to the rest of the world. Other racist dictatorships have used this argument. The regime of Ian Smith in what was then Rhodesia, Yahya Khan's Pakistan in seeking to hide its army's atrocities in Bangladesh and Idi Amin of Uganda, have all used these arguments with the same lack of success. The latest regime to join this select band in reviving the domestic sovereignty argument has been the government of Jayawardene in Sri Lanka. That such an argument cannot survive in the present state of international relations which emphasises the concern of the whole international community in human rights violations is a well-established proposition of international law.

The great lesson of the Second World War is that if Hitler had been stopped in the propagation of the myth of Aryan supremacy and the persecution of the Jews instead of being appeased, the colossal calamities that occurred could have been avoided. That human rights violations which occur in Sri Lanka and those which occur elsewhere in the world are the concern of the world community is too well established a proposition and does not need further analysis. As far as the situation in Sri Lanka is concerned that proposition has been demonstrated by the concern expressed by the United Nations Human Rights Commission and the findings in the various reports of human rights organisations like Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists.

The question that requires further analysis is the special competence of India to have an interest in the events that are occurring within the borders of Sri Lanka. Her interest in these human rights violations as a member of the international community has to be accepted. But apart from this, there are other reasons why India has special competence to deal with the matter and these reasons need elaboration.

(1) The situation in Sri Lanka affects the security interests of India. The government of Sri Lanka has been responsible for the introduction of totally foreign elements into the region. It has brought in the Mossad of Israel and mercenaries from Britain. It has been alleged that it is buying arms from South Africa. ('Sri Lanka News', 2nd May 1985). The creation of an authoritarian military state with fascist tendencies introduces an instability into the South Asian region which should be the concern of the dominant South Asian power. Sri Lanka can well become the willing tool

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of anti-Indian forces. Were this to happen, the encirclement of India by hostile forces would be assured.

(2) It is vital to India's survival as a secular and multi-ethnic state to take into account the interests of the people of the various Indian states in the formulation of foreign policy. Unless this is done, India would disintegrate on the basis of her ethnic composition, into several states. (A. Appadorai, 'The Domestic Roots of India's Foreign Policy' at pp201-210) A reason for the Indian military response to the events in Bangladesh was the feelings raised in West Bengal by the atrocities committed by the Pakistani troops on the Bengalis of East Pakistan. Had India not responded, the possibility of an exclusive Bengali response was real. The impact this would have had on the unity of the India federation is incalculable. India would have faced the possibility of each of its component states conducting a separate foreign policy.

An All India problem

Similar considerations are raised by the situation in Sri Lanka. The response in the state of Tamil Nadu to the genocide of the Sri Lankan Tamils by the Sinhalese army has been one of anger and anguish. It is now the most dominant issue in the politics of that state. The Dravida Munnetra Kazagam led by Mr Karunanithi is carrying on a peaceful agitation to ensure that the central government takes more effective action in protecting the Tamils in Sri Lanka from the atrocities committed by the army and bring about a solution which recognises the claims to self-determination of the Tamils. It was the major issue in the election campaign in the Tiruchendur electorate. If the interests of the people of Tamil Nadu are not looked after, it may result in fresh cries for secession. It must not be forgotten that it was the DMK which first raised the cry of secession and abandoned it in the interests of Indian unity and secularism. (M. Akbar, 'India: The Siege Within', pp74-94) A policy of appeasement by the central government could lead to the revival of old cries of secession. India could well justify concern of any proportion with the Sri Lankan problem on the ground of self-defence for the problem poses a threat to the territorial unity of India. As Indian leaders have often declared, the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka is not only a problem for the state of Tamil Nadu but is a problem that concerns the whole of India.

Economic aggression

(3) The massive influx of refugees from Sri Lanka has directly resulted from the well-documented atrocities committed by the Sinhalese army of occupation. Over 100,000 refugees have entered India. The social, economic and political disorganisation caused by the inflow of refugees in the receiving country would be great. Where a government promotes the flow of refugees to another state it commits economic aggression against that state. India herself put forward this thesis in justifying her intervention in Bangladesh by characterising the sudden inflow of Bengali refugees into West Bengal as economic aggression committed by Pakistan. The recipient country has the right under these circumstances to remedy the situation which causes the outflow of refugees, even by using force. As the Sri Lankan government has committed economic aggression against India, India has the right to remedy the problem creating the outflow of refugees from Sri Lanka in what appears to her to be the best possible manner.

(4) Among the Tamils who are being decimated ruthlessly by the Sinhalese forces are the so-called 'stateless' Tamils. Under the Sirima-Shastri Pact some of them are entitled to Indian citizenship. Intervention to protect such citizens is justifed in law. Such a right of intervention has been used extensively by Sri Lanka's allies. Thus, a justification for the US in-

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TAMIL WELFARE & CAMPAIGN GROUP FORMED

The following are extracts from a press release issued by a newly formed Tamil welfare and campaign group:

'A south London group has been formed to give direct and indirect assistance to Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka. Many refugees are still being held in remand centres and many more are living in grossly overcrowded conditions. They are all under constant threat of being sent back to Sri Lanka.

The first aim of the new group, named the South London Tamil Welfare Society, is to seek offers of accommodation from South London boroughs and housing associations. They are also appealing for donations not only of money but of clothing, food, cups, plates, cutlery, pots and pans and other household goods, bedding, washing and cleaning materials — in fact every kind of personal and household requirement.

Longer term problems

But immediate assistance, although vital, will not solve the longer term problems of refugees. The group, which is working in liaison with the Tamil Refugee Action Group, is also committed to fighting any attempts to remove Tamils from this country. They are starting a campaign against the inhumane and discriminatory conditions imposed on Tamils seeking refuge in Britain, particularly the restrictive 24-hour limit on appeals against decisions to return a refugee to Sri Lanka, the need to prove special individual hardship and the imposition of a visa requirement on entry to the UK. This last condition is particularly harsh, since it effectively prevents Tamils from boarding a plane in order to seek refuge and requires them to queue publicly outside the High Commission where they face attack or arrest — after they have already risked their lives to reach Colombo. SLTWS wants the British government to remove all such restrictive requirements, recognise that all Tamils face severe hardship and adopt a programme, with other European governments, to admit refugees and provide for them. Britain, of course, has a particular moral responsibility in view of its colonial relationship with Sri Lanka.

Publicise and expose

In the end, though, the solution to refugee 'problems' is to remove the reasons for people being forced to leave their homes and seek asylum in a foreign country. SLWTS wants to publicise and expose the gross violations of human rights which occur daily in Sri Lanka and to make it known that British aid to Sri Lanka is financing the oppression, torture and murder of Tamils.

At present, although the group's members include Tamils, of whom some are refugees, the membership is chiefly representatives of local indigenous community organisations and others who have genuine personal and general concern for the group's aims. Members feel that control and majority participation in future activies should be from Tamils, specifically refugees themselves. In order to achieve this, as well as to secure immediate aid for existing refugees and to further the longer-term aims, a public meeting is to be held early in July in South London. SLTWS are urging all Tamils, particularly refugees, as well as others who are concerned for human rights, to attend and pledge their support and direct assistance. It is hoped that the invited speakers at the meeting will include Jeremy Corbyn MP, who has given a massive commitment to the cause of the Tamil refugees, as well as speakers from Tamil groups, from the Institute of Race Relations and others. The list of speakers and the date and venue of the meeting have yet to be arranged, but will be published in the local and ethnic press and through Tamil organisations as soon as possible.

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tervention in Grenada was the need to protect the lives of American medical students who were in Grenada, though there was not a shred of evidence to show that their lives were in danger. The Israeli raid on Entebbe (Uganda) to rescue its citizens who had been hijacked was justified and military intervention to protect citizens is well recognised justification in modern international law.

(5) The use of religious chauvinism and the artificial creation of a rift promoted by the Sinhalese government between the Muslim Tamils and the Hindu Tamils in the Eastern Province of Eelam is a threat to India which is based on secularistic ideals. Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims live in India as well and the repercussions within India of the chauvinism of the Sinhalese government based on the abuse of Buddhism must legitimately be the concern of India. India must again have the competence to attack the root cause of the problem.

(6) Above all else, the strategic consideration of the problem must concern India. In its madness to wipe out the Tamils, the present Sri Lankan Government has been mortgaging the independence of Sri Lanka. The idea of the Indian Ocean being a zone of peace has become a myth as a result of the actions of Jayawardene, also known as Yankee Dick. Because of winds of nationalism in the Philippines and the imminent fall facing another Asian dictator, Ferdinand Marcos, the US is in search of other military bases in the Indian Ocean. ('Far Eastern Economic Review', 6th May 1985). Trincomalee would do just fine. The provision of facilities for Voice of America to have a relay station in Sri Lanka again allows for Big Brother presence in the region. If India does not show concern for these factors, the strategy of Indian encirclement will become a reality. Besides, she would lose her status as the pre-eminent regional power. The fact that Jayawardene, as a man of monumental insignificance in international politics, should consort with that other paragon of democracy, Zia ul Haq of Pakistan, and call for self-determination in Kashmir may be the sign of senile dementia, but it may not do much good for Indian prestige that she should allow even such a man to gather sufficient courage to work against Indian interests.

Indian consciousness

Faced with these factors India has acted with great restraint. She has striven hard to bring about a peaceful settlement to the crisis in Sri Lanka. But Sinhalese chauvinism cannot see the reason behind these efforts. It still seeks a 'final solution' to the 'Tamil Problem' which has not even been achieved by the mythical figures that dominate Sinhalese fancy. It would appear that reason has failed. Indian consciousness of this is reflected in the statement of Mr Kurshid Alam Khan, the Indian Minister of State for External Affairs, who characterised the behaviour of the Sinhalese government as 'deplorable, barbaric, cruel and inhuman' ('All India Radio', 6th May 1985). The time for appeasement has ended. In legal terms, India has sufficient basis for dealing with the problem caused by the Sri Lankan government in any way she pleases. It is time that India formulated a Monroe doctrine of her own to keep outside powers away from the region and tin-pot dictators like Jayawardene in order

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HISTORY

JUNIUS RICHARD JAYAWARDENE
A LEGACY OF TAMBI MUDALIYAR

By Dr. James T. Rutnam

President Jayawardene and Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike, the former Prime Minister, are two of the most prominent political leaders of the Sinhala people of Sri Lanka. They have competed with each other as the champions of the Sinhala-Buddhists. To the gullible, they are the authentic leaders of Sinhala-Buddhists. Are they?

In this article, (reproduced from TRIBUNE of August 30, 1957), Dr. James T. Rutnam, a prominent Sri Lankan historian, traces the genealogy of President Jayawardene and, only in passing, makes references to that of Mrs Bandaranaike too.

During his visit to the United States last year, President Jayawardene pompously proclaimed that he was the 205th Head of State of Sri Lanka in its 2,500-year long history. Many a king who sat on the 'Sinhalese Throne' during the ancient and medieval periods, was either a Tamil like the last king of Kandy, Sri Wickrema Rajasingha, or a descendant of a Tamil like Parakramabahu the Great. Passage of many centuries or even the intervening 450 years of European rule do not seem to have altered this historical tradition. Even in independent Sri Lanka in the late 20th century, two descendants of Tamils, Jayawardene and Mrs Bandaranaike, would appear to be needed to lead the 'Sinhala-Buddhist' country!

I have chosen this week to examine the credentials, professions and pretensions of a public man who glories in the name of Junius Richard Jayawardena. He it was who has declared that 'The time has come for the whole Sinhalese race which has existed for 2,500 years jealously safeguarding their language and religion to fight without giving quarter to save their birthright'.

Jayawardene has so allowed this enthusiasm to run amok, that in a moment of self-adulation he has defied the processes that are observed in selecting and electing democratic leaders, and has announced his own self-election as a leader of the threatened disobedience campaign against government. I have no doubt he drew immense self-satisfaction when he announced, 'I will lead the disobedience campaign'.

But whither, oh whither, will this megalomaniac lead the nation? *That* is the question. By what right has he chosen himself to lead a national movement! Only the other day he was thrown out, with his bag of tricks and baggages of craft, from his constituency at Kelaniya, which I believe he thought he could hold as if by divine right. What manner of man is this braggadocio who speaketh so glibly about a Sinhalese race, that has existed for 2,500 years, and of his readiness to fight for this Sinhalese race without giving any quarter to the enemy that threatens its language and religion? How?

When and how?

Leaving aside for a moment Junius Richard's 2,500 years of inheritance, shall we pause and inquire at this stage when and how he became a Sinhalese, when and how he became a Walauwa Hamuduruwo, when and how he became a Buddhist, when and how he came to affect his present costume, when and how he became an anti-Marxist, when and how he became a tee-totaller, when and how he became a non-smoker, etc. etc.?

A probe such as the one I contemplate here is never a pleasant exercise. Nobody cares a tinker's damn who, for instance, is say, Citizen Perera, who his ancestors were and what his political views are or were? But a public man who claims the voices of the people must of necessity be open to public scrutiny. His antecedents, his present affiliations and his future dispositions have to be examined in the public interest to enable one to arrive at a proper evaluation of his public worth.

A man is a man for all that, and for all that, and for all that. Normally one is not concerned about the ancestors of a public man. We all enjoy the same hoary lineage. We are all sprung from the same homo sapiens. We are the heirs of all the ages. The heritage of mankind is alike our own precious heritage. But — ay, there's the rub — when Junius Richard raises the communal cry to suit his purpose, in an atmosphere charged with tension, does it not befit a reasonable man to begin at the beginning, and enquire how much and for how long Junius Richard himself, who has for want of better argument descended so low as to rouse the elemental passions of men, is and has been, a true Sinhalese? Is he the neo-*Sinha-le* Aryan Buddhist Walauwa Hamuduruwo that his militant chauvinism makes him out to be?

Junius, the counterfeit

Junius Richard is as far different to Duthu-Gemunu, the great and chivalrous Sinhalese national hero, as chalk is to cheese. But behold Junius coming riding on an elephant, and masquerading as a Duthu-Gemunu to drive the Tamils into the sea. And for what? What have the Tamils done, the Tamils who have a culture, a language and a territory which have received the sanction of centuries of history? Has Sinhalese chivalry died with Duthu-Gemunu the First? Or is it that counterfeit Duthu-Gemunus, now in circulation, are debasing the true gold of Sinhalese currency?

I would request Junius Richard Jayawardena to pause and reflect for a while. If he does he will come to realise that before driving the other Tamils into the sea, it is his own miserable body that he should throw into the sea first. *For alas, of the chosen 2,500 years of Junius Richard's long pedigree, in the direct male line, 2,300 years at last consist of a line of full-blooded Tamils, and proto-Tamils, some of them noble, but at least one of them very ignoble.*

Ignoble ancestor

This ignoble ancestor was Tambi Mudaliyar, whose son Don Abraham Jayawardena, Mudaliyar at Chilaw, was the father of James Alfred Jayawardena, a Proctor at Sedawatta, whose son was that pious Christian gentleman, if ever there was one, Eugene Wilfred Jayawardena, the father of Junius Jayawardena, the father of Junius Richard, presently self-appointed champion of true Aryan *Sinha-le*. The story of Tambi Mudaliyar has often been told. Some of the biographies written about him were issued by members of the family. But some material particulars appear to have been unfortunately omitted by

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the approved family biographers, two of whom were Messrs D. Jayawardena and G.T. Staples. I shall endeavour to make good these omissions in this article.

The earliest biography of Tambi Mudaliyar appears in an abridged form in the Supplement to the 'Ceylon Gazette' of the 15th May, 1830. It was entitled 'Memoir of a Native Headman', and evidently it was written by somebody who was very proud of the services rendered by Tambi Mudaliyar to the British. To the people of Ceylon these services were nothing but downright and shameless treachery. But in those times when careerists and opportunists were tumbling one over the other to bask in the sunshine of British smiles, true Ceylonese patriotism was a hot-house plant, fondly nurtured in secret by the forgotten Hampdens of our history and protected by them, alike from the scorching sun of British colonialism as from the rapacious eyes of paid stooges, among whom Tambi Mudaliyar was an inglorious example.

Chitty or Acharaya?

At the time the biography of Tambi Mudaliyar was published in the 'Gazette', it was common knowledge that Tambi Mudaliyar's father was a Tamil who married a Sinhalese at Welgama, near Hanwella, and took the name of his wife's family, Jayawardena. Indeed, this accommodating adventurer made a complete changeover and he became a new man (but for his tell-tale blood) with a new name, nationality, religion and costume. The 'Gazette' biography has it, in black and white, which no amount of pretence can erase now, that, 'at an early period of the Dutch possession his (Tambi Mudaliyar's) ancestors emigrated from the Coromandel Coast and settled in Colombo' (pp.348–349). The 'Gazette' and Doyly have stated that Tambi Mudaliyar belonged to the 'Chitty' class of Tamil traders from the Coromandel Coast. But there is some doubt on this point. It is alleged that he belonged to the Acharaya community. Whether he was a Acharaya or a Chitty, he was nevertheless a member of the great Tamil community, composed of saints and sinners, as is any other community.

We are not responsible for the sins or seeming shortcomings of our fathers, nor should these be visited upon the children. But it is a sad turn of events, and the unkindest cut of all, for Jayawardena, of all men, to attack the Prime Minister because the latter is of Tamil descent. The UNP journal, which is said to be directed, controlled and managed by Jayawardena has dared to attack our Prime Minister, using the information that I had chosen to publish in the columns of the 'Tribune' on 19th July, 1957, in my article entitled 'The House of Nilaperumal', that our Prime Minister was a direct descendant of a Tamil Kapurala who had immigrated from South India. It ill becomes Jayawardena to summon the 'ghost of Nilaperumal', to serve his discredited cause. No doubt there was laughter in the ranks of Tuscany. But wait a bit. The laughter was a little premature. *How could Jayawardena throw a stone at Nilaperumal, living as he did in the disreputable glasshouse of Tambi Mudaliyar?* To sack-cloth and ashes, ye scribes and pharisees of the UNP!

Nilaperumal

Do the misguided souls of the UNP know that Nilaperumal landed in Ceylon in 1506, but that Tambi Mudaliyar's father saw the shores of this island only a few years before the British occupied the Maritime Provinces. Do they know that the Van Geyzels and several other families of the Burgher community, which is being driven by frustration to seek other climes, have lived longer in this country than these Jayawardenas? Do they know that when Elara's hordes were fighting Duthu Gemunu's army at Anuradhapura, the shores of the Coromandel coast had echoed with encouraging applause for Elara's victories from the very ancestors of Jayawardena, all of whom were full-blooded Tamils, alas, now disowned, denounced and despised by Jayawardena? Would that Tambi Mudaliyar's father's ghost be summoned and told that one sprung from his seed is today ingrately denying his patrimony. My advice to the UNP – keep Nilaperumal out if you still want to hide the skeletons in your cupboard.

The Jayewardenas, since the first of this line came over to Ceylon less than two hundred years ago, have had two surnames, one of course being Jayawardena. The other name is a hidden mystery. Even the 'Ceylon Gazette' of the 15th May 1930 is silent on this point. The reference in the 'Gazette' is as follows:
'The father of the Modeliar having assumed the Sinhalese costume, etc, laid aside their original family name and adoptd that of Jayawardena'. What indeed was the 'original family' that was 'laid aside'? It could have been Sinna-tambi, or Peria-tambi, Siman Pulle, Samikannu Achary, or even the name of that pet aversion of neo-*Sinha-le* pseudo Aryans Thondaman. I feel sure that somebody is hiding a succulent secret in his bosom.

Man of many religions

Many and varied were the gods that the Jayawardenas worshipped within the short space of 200 years. Their religion has been in turn Hindu, Dutch Reformed Church, Church of England, Church of Ceylon and militant Buddhism, the last a contradiction in terms, but nevertheless a variety of religion with happily only a few devotees, among whom the latest recruit happens to be Junius Richard Jayawardena. Lucky for the son that his father E.W. Jayawardena, the proud exemplar of Christian duty, is now dead.

Most of these Jayawardenas have in turn affected such variegated costumes that they could be certain, had they competed, of winning a prize at a Fancy Dress Pageant. They had looked pretty in the national garbs of Tamil Chitties, Dutchmen, Englishmen, and the cloth and banian of neo-*Sinha-le* pseudo Aryans.

The Jayawardenas had originally spoken the Tamil language, but soon after their entry to the country, they appear to have developed a contempt for all vulgar tongues, and would only hold converse in the imperial language of their Dutch masters, the forthright germanic gutturals of *de Hollandsche*, (pronounced Hollan-se), their long lost 'fellow-Aryan' brothers-in-blood. But when the English supplanted the Dutch, there was a Jayawardena, only too ready to teach his children to call him 'Daddy' and their mother 'Mammie' and speak English in measured Oxford accents of a Lord Haw-Haw. They have a penchant for languages, these Jayawardenas, from Tamil to Dutch, from Dutch to English, from English to 'Sinhala Only', is no mean achievement.

Muslim?

The great-great grandfather, in the direct male ascent, of Junius Richard Jayawardena was popularly known as Tambi Mudaliyar. The prevailing misconception about Tambi Mudaliyar is that he was a Muslim. Having studied the life and character of this man, I have no hesitation in saying that he would undoubtedly have become a Muslim had he found that by becoming so, he would have gained some suitable personal advantage. He never embraced Islam, nor did he ever go through the process of conversion to that faith.

Tambi Mudaliyar was born in the village, Welgama, near Hanwella in the Siyane Korle. Let the biography published in the 'Ceylon Gazette' tell the tale of his beginnings in its own words. 'At the age of 13 years', runs this story, 'he lost his father.' This

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FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

refers to the individual whose original name still remains a secret to posterity, but who holds the record in Ceylon history for having so completely changed name, nationality, religion and costume at one stroke.

The 'Gazette' biography states: 'This bereavement (referring to the death of Tambi Mudaliyar's father) with other calamities which befell the family about the same time brought the survivors into great distress; so that in his early years, Jayawardena was the subject of many privations and had to suffer many domestic hardships. *Had he merely been a native of the ordinary stamp*, he would by these unpropitious events have sunk into that state of *apathy so peculiar to the native character*. But from the beginning he envinced an energy of character *seldom possessed by natives*, and although he felt his misfortunes, and had but faint prospects of ever being able to rise above them, yet he had courage enough to struggle with his circumstances and *his subsequent history* shows how successfully the spirit of enterprise raised him above all the unpromising occurrences which assailed him in early life.

The above is a delineation of the extraordinary qualities that went, according to his biographer, to form the character of Tambi Mudaliyar. Naturally, belonging as he did to a family of recent Tamil immigrants, Tambi Mudaliyar could not have been expected to be identical in type, mentality and outlook to the indigenous people of the country. But the writer of the biography has taken advantage of these differences to blacken the character of the 'natives' of the country, and to that same extent, praise Tambi Mudaliyar by drawing invidious comparisons.

The word 'natives' has been used and belaboured unduly, and on every occasion the writer had sought to insult the 'natives', he exalted his protege, Tambi Mudaliyar, as one who did not possess the undesirable 'natives' shortcomings. Finally, the 'subsequent history' of Tambi Mudaliyar is presented to us as a success story. We shall in due course examine this 'subsequent history' of Tambi Mudaliyar. Fo the present, let us thank goodness that the 'natives' of Ceylon were and are, totally unlike this unscrupulous and sordid adventurer and charlatan.

Servant to Aratchy

'About the age of fourteen or fifteen,' the *Gazette* biography continues 'he (Tambi Mudaliyar) came under the notice of the late Colonel Driberg . . . The Colonel was then Commandant of the Fort of Colombo, at that time in the possession of the Dutch, and discovering that young Jayawardena possessed natural powers of a very promising kind, *advanced him from the state of a domestic servant to the office of aratchy in the armed Lascoryn Corps'*. Would that all masters were as benevolent as to recognise 'natural powers of a promising kind', and promote their domestic servants in like manner?

Colonel Diedrich Carl von Driberg was the first of the Dribergs that came to Ceylon. He came over in the eighteenth century from Hanover (?), Germany. The Jayawardenas owe it to this Burgher gentleman an immeasurable debt of gratitude. The Dribergs now living should be mighty proud of this signal act of charity and condescension shown by the founder of their family. Any form of honest labour is a worthy occupation, and domestic service is no exception to this rule. But it is difficult to reconcile the 'hamu' mentality of Junius Richard Jayawardena, with his great-great grandfather Tambi Mudaliyar's own original humble station as a domestic servant under Colonel Driberg.

A paid spy

From the position of an aratchy in the armed Lascoryn Corps of the Dutch, the future Tambi Mudaliyar became a paid spy of the Dutch. 'When the island was invaded by the British Army under the command of Major General Stuart', the biography states, 'and was advancing towards Colombo, the Dutch Governor von Angelbeck selected aratchy Jayawardena as a fit person to send as a disguised emissary to the English Army to ascertain the strength etc, and to give regular information of all their movements. This unpleasant task, it appears, was done satisfactorily by Tambi Mudaliyar.

At this time, the British were using the services of a former Mudaliyar under the Dutch, who was banished from the country. This Mudaliyar was the cause of Tambi's undoing as a Dutch spy, at Mabole, on the other side of the Kelani Ganga. The Tamilo-Sinhalo spy of the Dutch was discovered, arrested and brought him before Major-General Stuart. Tambi had played for high stakes as all spies did. He had played and lost. Now the forfeit was claimed, as for instance, when Birkenhead claimed it when he brought Casement to bay. The forfeit in the present case was the life of Tambi Mudaliyar. General Stuart had no alternative but to order the execution of Tambi Mudaliyar. Here, some would say, Fate intervened. As I see it, it was the characteristic resourcefulness of the adventurer, of which quality Tambi possessed a large measure, that rescued this spy from the hangman's noose.

It is reported in the 'Gazette' biography that the British wanted him to spy, in turn, for them, to give 'exact information of the strength of the Dutch Garrison, the nature and extent of the preparations made for defending the Fort, and the general condition of the troops.' This, of course, the noble and conscience-stricken spy, who spied for spying's sake, and not for love of country (for by his actions one concluded that country he had none), refused to do. We are told he would not do 'so traitorous an act', as if treachery meant anything to this high-souled gentlemen.

British spy

However, we find he ultimately turned out as a British spy, his life being spared. While the reprieve of Tambi Mudaliyar's life ensured his posterity, and we have thus been rewarded with (or punished by) his legacy, J.R. Jayawardena, we cannot help feeling that had only Tambi Mudaliyar suffered his merited fate the lives of so many brave and patriotic Kandyans would have escaped their tragic ends, and their blood would not have stained the hands nor darkened the conscience, if he had one, of Tambi Mudaliyar. Indeed, the course of Ceylon history might well have taken a different turn. *For Ceylonese treachery would have been strangled at its birth.*

The 'subsequent history' of Tambi Mudaliyar who proudly styled himself Mudaliyar Don Adrian Wijayasinghe Jayawardena is not something that a Ceylonese could be proud of. *Indeed, in a certain sense, Tambi Mudaliyar's 'subsequent history' does not belong to Ceylon history. It belongs to British history. It belongs to the history of British espionage.* The history of espionage in general should have some space to record the adventures of this vagabond, sans language, sans religion, sans costume, sans nationality. Espionage is never a noble vocation. Espionage for one's own country is perhaps permissible. But espionage against one's country is despicable and detestable. Such a spy will eventually be disowned by his patrons and cursed and damned by his victims and their progeny.

Tambi Mudaliyar's place in Ceylon history is at some spot in our National Square, where each year on the day of National Independence, his effigy could be burnt by patriotic Ceylonese. I would here quote the concluding words in an article by Vincent de Silva in the 'Times of Ceylon' dated 15th May 1950. De Silva wrote, 'Never had the British a more loyal Sinhalese under their command, nor the

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Sinhalese a worse traitor. Veteran traitors like Pilama Talawa and Ehelapola tried, in a misguided way, to re-establish the Sinhalese dynasty, but the Guide Mudaliyar Adrian Jayawardena did so for a living.'

J.R.J.

Tambi Mudaliyar's life story is a lesson and a warning to all Ceylonese. Particularly it should be a warning to his great-great grandson Junius Richard Jayawardena who has now threatened to play with Fire, little realising that he might get consumed by the same element. He has announced that he would lead the disobedience movement against government. But Junius Richard Jayawardena is today this, and tomorrow that. How could any man in his senses, leave aside a country, follow him?

He seems to have forgotten how piously and religiously as a young man in full possession of his senses and having reached the years of discretion, he used to approach the communion rails of a Christian Church in Colombo. But today he folds his hands in like manner and reverentially approaches the statue of Buddha. Was he a good Christian, and is he a good Buddhist? I do not deny that it is possible to be a Buddhist now, and to have been a Christian earlier but his peculiar behaviour is, to say the least, most unconvincing. Yesterday he was a leftist, a Marxist, a member of the Lanka-Soviet Friendship Union. For long he demanded both Sinhalese and Tamil to be the Official Languages. But today he airs opposite views. Of all men in Ceylon, Jayawardena wants to wage a jehad against the Tamils. What a mockery!

The country has not forgotten how he challenged that veteran fighter for Ceylon's freedom, E.W. Perera; how he raised the religious cry at that election, having by then become a Buddhist. Forever shame on him for driving E.W. Perera, in the evening of his life, from the laurels he had won and deserved, into dissillusionment and tears. Jayawardena shall pay for this dearly. It is not enough that Kelaniya had rejected him. The country has not forgotten, too, how he worked against the Ceylon-China pact, the one historic act that raised this land overnight to the stature of a self-respecting nation. Jayawardena's intrigues against Kotelawela showed how little he cared for party principles or loyalties.

Consistency might be a virtue of the unthinking fool. But a systematic inconsistency which dovetails into the self-interests of an individual, and are patently transparent, will be repudiated and its shame exposed by a vigilant nation, which will not allow itself to be fooled. The Tambi Mudaliyar family has, in the main, such a record of shifting loyalties, that it is impossible to gloss over it. Originally and naturally it was, I have no doubt, pro-Tamil, then it was pro-Dutch, then pro-British and now it appears to be pro-Sinhala, whatever this may mean. But always it had appeared to be anxious to be pro-power-that-be, imagined or real. Tomorrow, if by some unhappy fate Sri Lanka were to get under the heel of an Islamic conqueror, I shall not be surprised if we found Junius Richard Jayawardena among the sons of the prophet. Self has meant everything to this type of politician, and country nothing. Such men are dangerous. God save our country.

A VOICE FROM AMERICA

If you had a family, wouldn't you be upset if your young sons were taken off the streets for 'questioning', never to be seen again? Wouldn't you be upset if at any time, soldiers could break into your home for no reason, search the place, take what they wanted and rape your wife and daughters? Wouldn't you be concerned if your priests could no longer stay in their churches and function, but had to hide for fear of their lives as they are doing in Mannar diocese? Wouldn't you be concerned if because of the curfew your family would not be taken to the doctor or hospital when they were ill or delivering a child because it wasn't the allowable hours in the day between 8 and 10 in the morning, and 2 and 4 in the afternoon? Who plans their sickness in the proper hour, or their accident or the delivery of a child?

I have been to Sri Lanka several times and have definitely noticed the prejudices against the Tamils. I have been all over the island and only in the Sinhalese areas are the roads in any state of repair. The Tamil country has atrocious roads, even though I know they must pay the same taxes as the Sinhalese and all the roads signs are in Sinhalese which many Tamils are unable to read.

Most of the Tamils I met over there, both Hindus and Christians never wished for a separate state. It was only the young as they could see no other answer. The older Tamils were asking only for equality: Equal opportunity for jobs and education which were denied them, decent roads for travel, and road signs they could read, and to be able to practise their religion as they wished.

But no, just because this group of young boys started protesting for equal rights and equal opportunities the Tamils have to live under Militar Government, with atrocious restrictions placed on them, and violent killings, burning and looting of their homes and churches, killing of their priests, etc.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

LALITH'S SINISTER MOVE

At a press conference in Colombo, Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, Sri Lankan Minister of National Security, 'disclosed' his secret plan to prevent Tamil youth from joining the Tamil militant groups.

He said, as reported in the 'Island' (May 22), that the government had accepted the importance of his proposals which he had already submitted orally. He added: 'I will not be submitting it in writing.'

Why is he reluctant to put his proposals in writing to his own colleagues in the government? Is he afraid that his colleagues would leak them? Or are the proposals so diabolical and criminal that he would become incriminated if he were to document them? Do the plans include a planned gradual liquidation of Tamil young men between the ages of 14 and 25 years?

S.T. Arasan

Colombo 2

'EDUCATION A MUST' says Principal

Education, by an unbroken tradition, has been the rich heritage of the Jaffna Tamils, which we cannot afford to lose under any circumstances, however trying it may be. It had to be preserved, cherished and provided under all conditions,' said Mr W.N.S. Samuel, Principal, Hartley College, Point Pedro, when he addressed a meeting of representatives of Christian Teachers Union.

Continuing, Mr Samuel said that teachers should not slacken their work and duty to the children and the country under the guise that there was general unrest in the country and that the mood to study does not simply exist. It was up to the teachers to create the necessary atmosphere and the mental framework to continue to maintain the educational standards of the North. 'They should brave all situations to ensure that education in our schools continued undisturbed and un-

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MORE SAVAGING OF TAMILS

APRIL 14, 1985

More shooting in Jaffna: More innocent civilians were injured as trigger-happy soldiers continued their attacks on Tamils. 57-year-old Velupillai from Sillalai was admitted to Jaffna hospital with gun-shot injuries. Meanwhile, two of the several civilians admitted to hospital with gun-shot injuries succumbed to their injuries. They are Jacob and R. Surendran (29 years) from Colombothurai.

APRIL 16, 1985

Fishermen held: Thirteen innocent fishermen were taken into custody by the armed forces in the fishing village of Navanthurai in Jaffna. At the time of arrest some of them were resting within the premises of a church.

Kakkaitivu shooting: The armed forces opened fire at innocent civilians at Kakkaitivu in Jaffna killing one youth and injuring many others.

APRIL 17, 1985

27 killed in Mannar: The Sri Lankan Navy personnel went on the rampage in Mannar today killing 27 Tamil civilians. A large number of civilians were also arrested and taken to the Thalladi Army camp. Their fate is not known.

Commandos butcher refugees: Several Tamil refugees from the village of Akkaraipattu in the Eastern Province, who had gone to neighbouring villages in search of food were shot dead by police commandos. Their bodies were piled up by the roadside and set on fire by the commandos. Several refugees who escaped the ordeal fled into near-by jungles.

Liberation fighters exonerated by government ministers: The government-sponsored canard that the Tamil liberation fighters were behind the Muslim-Tamil clashes in the Eastern Province was today exposed and the Tamil youth exonerated by no less than three ministers from President Jayawardene's government. Cabinet Ministers Devanayagam and Rajadurai and District Minister Mrs Ranganayagi Pathmanathan, all representing electorates in the troubled Eastern Province visited the troubled areas today and issued a statement exonerating the Tamil militants and alleging that 'other subversive forces' were responsible for the incidents.

Patient snatched from hospital: Police commandos went into the Eravur hospital (in the Eastern Province) and took away an injured Tamil civilian who was having an intravenous infusion. The drip was disconnected by the commandos themselves.

APRIL 18, 1985

Who's behind Hindu-Muslim riots? In an interview in the 'Eela Nadu', a Tamil daily, the (Tamil) Minister of Rural Industrial Development, Mr S. Thondaman, has rejected the claim that the Hindu-Muslim riots in the East of Sri Lanka were spontaneous acts of violence. He said that the whole affair had been 'calculated' and that 'deplorable elements' were behind it.

APRIL 19, 1985

Murder at Myliddy: Four innocent Tamil civilians were shot dead by the armed forces at Myliddy, a fishing village in the Northern Province today.

APRIL 20, 1985

200 houses burnt: 200 houses belonging to Tamils at Kudiyiruppu in Eravur, were set on fire and burnt down today.

APRIL 21, 1985

Muslim ex-MP accuses Mossad: Mr M.C. Ahamed, the former (Muslim) MP for Kalmunai in Mrs Bandaranaike's government is reported in today's issue of the 'Virakesari' (a Tamil daily) to have referred to a wall poster that appeared in the Eastern Province alleging that the Mossad had instigated the violence in the East. He had confirmed that the contents of the poster were true.

33 civilians killed: In two separate incidents at Nelliaddy and Mullaitivu in the North, at least 33 innocent Tamil civilians were butchered by th armed forces. According to the government version, at Mullaitivu Tamil militants had set off a land mine explosion under an army truck killing four soldiers and that the army fired back and killed 24 militants. But on-the-spot reports from Mullaitivu say that soldiers in the other vehicles of the convoy had shot and killed not militants but every civilian seen in the vicinity and that the death toll was well in excess of the 24 admitted by the government. At Nelliady, nine civilians were shot dead by the armed forces. Meanwhile, two civilians grievously hurt in the troops' shoot-out at Mullaitivu, Thurairatnam (29 years) and Ramanathan (26 years), were transferred to the Jaffna Hospital from Mullaitivu Hospital.

APRIL 22, 1985

Buses didn't ply — no diesel: For the fifth day running government buses attached to the Jaffna, Point Pedro and Karainagar depots did not ply the roads, the reason being given that no diesel had arrived from Colombo. With the ban on the use of private vehicles, the buses were the only source of transport available to the citizens even to go to hospital.

100 Tamil houses burnt: In Punchanthoduvai, in the Eastern Province, the operation incineration continued with at least 100 Tamil houses being burnt down.

Armoured car lights for looters: Armoured cars belonging to President Jayawardene's Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka switched on their powerful headlights to provide lighting to hoodlums imported from Colombo to loot Tamil houses in the village of Kalavanchikkudi in the Eastern Province.

APRIL 24, 1985

More arson and murders: In the village of Navatkuda in the Eastern Province, four Tamil civilians were killed and several Tamil houses set on fire. Meanwhile, unofficial estimates have indicated that around 1,000 houses

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have been set on fire and 25,000 rendered homeless in the violence sweeping the Eastern Province. Up till now about 50 are reported killed.

'Outsiders caused trouble' — Thonda. Cabinet Minister Mr S. Thondaman met President Jayawardene today and placed before him the evidence that he had about 'outside forces' who had infiltrated into the Eastern Province to cause trouble.

APRIL 25, 1985

Valaichenai burns again: Violence erupted in Valaichenai in the Eastern Province for the second time in recent weeks, resulting in several Tamil houses being set on fire and many people getting injured. Meanwhile, the government has transferred to Colombo all Tamil officers attached to the Valaichenai police!

Motor cyclists killed: Two Tamil civilians riding a motor cycle were shot dead by the troops at Ooddumadam junction, in the outskirts of the Jaffna town today.

APRIL 26, 1985

'Outsiders' transported to East — Thonda: In a statement issued to the Tamil daily 'Virakesari' today, Cabinet Minister Thondaman alleged that large numbers of persons had been transported from Colombo to Batticaloa in government vehicles, to stir up violence there. Meanwhile, a number of national identity cards picked up at scenes of violence at Karaitivu and Akkaraipattu in the Eastern Province were found to be those of Colombo residents!

Sarath says government, Israelis, responsible for carnage in the East: The Communist MP for Kalawana, Sarath Muttetuwegama said in Parliament today that the violence in the Eastern Province was stirred up and engineered by the Sri Lanka government and their Israeli friends (Mossad). He also alleged that the government has despatched Mr N.U. Jayawardene to South Africa, the citadel of apartheid to purchase weapons for the Sri Lankan troops.

APRIL 27, 1985

69-year-old man killed: A 69-year-old man — Rajadurai (alias Shastri) was shot dead by the armed forces at Kondavil today.

Stones thrown at bus: A bus plying to Jaffna from Colombo was received with a hail of stones at Anuradhapura leading to several Tamil passengers being injured and the bus being damaged badly. The driver of the bus, Mr A. Selvanayagam, who sustained a head injury from the stone-throwing continued to drive the bus to the safety of Vavuniya and thereby saved the life of the passengers.

APRIL 28, 1985

Valaichenai ablaze again: Violence erupted in Valaichenai today leading to about 50 Tamil houses being burnt down. Several Tamils sustained injuries from burns. Hundreds of Tamil people have been rendered homeless and have lost all their belongings.

APRIL 29, 1985

Troops berserk at Karaveddi, Ariyalai: Following landmine explosions at Karaveddi and Ariyalai in the Northern Province, troops went on a bloody rampage killing over 25 civilians and smashing up several houses and shops and looting them. Raids were also carried out from helicopters killing many civilians. Among those killed are Sinnadurai Chelvanayagam (Karaveddi) and Mr & Mrs Navaratnam (Ariyalai). The buildings belonging to the Nelliadi Kaddaiveli Multipurpose Co-operative Society and the petrol shed at Nelliadi have been smashed up by the troops. Some of the dead bodies (including a lady and a child) are being kept at the mortuary of Manthigai Hospital. Mr Murugamoorthy (48 years), Treasurer of the Valvettithurai Citizens' Committee was assaulted by the troops with galvanised pipes. Mr Vetharaniyam Santhanam (40 years) was stabbed by the troops and was admitted to Manthigai Hospital.

Helicopters distribute inflammable pamphlets: Helicopters belonging to the Sri Lankan police were seen flying over the troubled Eastern Province air-dropping pamphlets urging the Muslims to rise against the Tamils and massacre them.

Bus fired at: A bus belonging to the Sri Lankan government plying between Kerativu and Jaffna with Tamil passengers was shot at by the forces, killing the conductor, Arumugam Maheswaran (45 years) and two other passengers on the spot. Several passengers who travelled in the bus (No.22 SRI 2921) suffered gun-shot injuries — Miss Vigneswari Mailvaganam (23 years), Mrs Indradevi Ramachandran (43 years), Vaithilingam (58 years), S. Josephmani (55 years), Raheem (32 years), Subendran (17 years). They have been admitted to Jaffna Hospital.

Newly married couple killed: In a separate incident in the Ariyalai area rampaging troops shot and killed a newly married couple, K. Navaratnam (36 years) and Sushiladevi (33 years), who were being entertained for a meal by some relatives. The costly gold jewellery worn by the bride was ripped off her dead body by the troops.

MAY 2, 1985

Murder at Point Pedro: A fifty-year-old schoolteacher, Mrs Johnpillai, who was plucking vegetables in her home garden at Point Pedro was shot dead by troops today. In another incident in the same area, 21-year-old Ponnambalam Chandrakumar returning home from Sri Vallipura Alwar temple after a day of fasting was shot dead on the street by the troops.

Kodikamam killing: An innocent Tamil citizen, Nesarajah, who was admitted to Jaffna hospital after being assaulted by troops at Kodikamam succumbed to his injuries at the hospital.

Massacre from helicopter at Mutur: Violence erupted in the village of Koddaiparichchan in Mutur (Eastern Province) resulting in the killing of about ten people. Soon after the incident, Sri Lanka Air Force helicopters strafed the village with bullets from the sky killing many innocent Tamils. Several Tamil houses were also set on fire Troops also opened fire at Samboor killing many Tamil civilians

MAY 4, 1985

Gunfire claims four: Armed forces opened fire in Jaffna today killing four innocent civilians — R. Rajendran (30 years), S. Sadasivam (36 years), Sathiaseelan Sathiamoorthy (28 years), Anandan (35 years).

Bus hijacked, burnt: A private bus plying from Colombo to Jaffna was hijacked at Chilaw by Sinhalese speaking gunmen and taken to a jungle area The Tamil passengers (40 in all) were stripped of all their belongings and assaulted mercilessly. Two young girls who were travelling in the bus were raped. The bus was set on fire and completely burnt.

Tamil priest murdered: A Hindu Tamil priest attached to the Udappu Amman temple was shot dead by the troops and hung from a tree, head downwards, from a tree in front of the temple.

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WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

ACT OF IMPROPRIETY

'In questioning the sincerity of India's friendship with Sri Lanka at a banquet in honour of the British Prime Minster, President Jayawardene committed an act of impropriety. Mrs Thatcher's visit to Sri Lanka and India has been as a common friend of the two Commonwealth countries and not as an arbiter. In giving a distorted version of India's role in the Sri Lankan crisis, he was trying to camouflage his own actions responsible for deepening the ethnic crisis. His main charge against New Delhi is that Sri Lankan Tamil separatists have been permitted to 'live and travel freely in India'. He would not have rushed to a hasty conclusion on India's stand had he cared to examine the circumstances in which the Tamils fled to India. The reign of terror unleashed on them by the Sri Lankan government left them with no option but to seek refuge in India. How could the Indian government distinguish between law-abiding citizens and terrorists when such a large exodus or people was taking place.'
(HINDUSTAN TIMES, 27.4.85)

STATELY ROMAN SENATOR

It is fascinating to watch President Junius R. Jayewardene when he is on his foreign visits. Stately as a Roman senator, he is, of course, and when the questions are correctly framed, as they are when asked in Islamabad and New York, Beijing, and London, he unfolds what really is in his mind on the problems of the island. In Islamabad over the weekend, the Sri Lanka President made it clear that a political solution to the ethnic problem was difficult in the present environment'. A political situation, he told General Zia ul-Haq at a banquet table, should not be a decorative ornament but a practical thing which was implementable and implementable it would be only if terrorism were brought under control.

Past stand: For more than two and a half years, the President has maintained this stand in his vocabulary. In the meantime, thousands, just thousands of innocent Tamils were killed in Colombo in 1983, in Jaffna in 1984 and in distant hamlets and towns in the central hills and the eastern coast towns of Batticaloa and Trincomalee, in the high seas off the coast line and some in jails. As the Tamil militants waxed and waned in their own violence against government establishments, and the army, Jayewardene's soldiery has maintained a high pitch of bloody violence against the people many of whom are Tamils of Indian origin, stateless people and quite a few Indian nationals living in the island. It is now becoming clear even to his strongest supporters in Washington and elsewhere that Jayewardene's state violence against the Tamils, aided and abetted by British mercenaries. American dollars, and Israeli killer-technology has very few parallels in contemporary history.

So, when Jayewardene says that violence must end, he puts on it a meaning which is not accepted by the rest of the world, least of all by India which has had to face the brunt of the refugee problem and whose own domestic scene threatens to become warped because of the emotional and political strains that are generated in the fall-out of the refugee issue.
(LINK, 14.4.85)

JUNIUS BLOWS HOT & COLD

'How many Tamils die every week or, for that matter, how many soldiers are killed during the same period is anybody's guess; very little is printed in the press because it has to submit every such story to the censors before publishing it. Rumours are plenty. But there is no doubt that the level of operation has been stepped up by both sides. The terrorists are using rockets and one helicopter escaped a direct hit last week when I was there. And Jayewardene makes no secret of the fact that he is spending 'billions and billions of dollars' to buy the latest equipment to fight the terrorists.

Both China and Pakistan are selling arms to Sri Lanka. Some time back when the Pakistan International Airlines refused to carry the arms to Colombo on the plea that it was against the aviation ethics to do so in a passenger plane, General Zia overruled the objection and said that it was Sri Lanka which gave them fuelling facilities during the Bangladesh war. The eight per cent Muslim population in Sri Lanka is not, however, impressed by General Zia; they ultimately fear the same type of treatment as is being meted out to the Tamils. And the induction of Israelis for training the Sri Lanka soldiers has further alienated them.

Apart from the Israeli instructors, the British SAS have been hired by the Sri Lanka government to assist its soldiers. Jayewardene is quite open about it. In fact, when I asked him about it, he said: 'Why shouldn't I? You can't dictate to me.' Who else is helping Sri Lanka is difficult to determine but I found Jayewardene confident of emerging victorious and believing that the world is beginning to 'appreciate' his point of view. However, he blows hot and cold at the same time."
(INTERNATIONAL COURIER, March 1985)

THE ISRAELI DEVIL

The Sinhalese soldiers call it the *Yakka*, meaning the 'Devil'. That is the latest bullet-proof, steel-plated troop carrier which carries the bomb-scarred Sri Lankan troops in troubled Tamil-dominated northern province of Jaffna. The people call it the 'Israeli devil'.

Israeli presence is visible in the Tamil-majority north and east of Sri Lanka in the prominently displayed anti-Israeli posters and the army trucks and the modern weapons troops carry. The posters call the Israelis to go home, 'Down with Zionism, Down with New-Fascism', they read.

'Not only in the trucks and the guns you see the Israeli presence but also in the very manner in which the soldiers hold their guns,' a military analyst who wants to remain unidentified, said. He quoted a statement by an Israeli journalist-turned-soldier, Kobybrook, 26, currently with the Hebrew daily 'Hadashot' to the English weekly 'Weekend', in which he said: 'The way your guys carry their weapons is the way we are taught during our basic training'.

'The soldiers not only carry their weapons the Israeli way they also adopt the same tactics, which the minister says he did not know, of reprisals and terror,' the same military analyst averred.

None disagrees with the theory that the ill-trained, ill-educated, ill-equipped Sinhalese soldiers indulge in reprisals and terror tactics. They conducted combined shelling action from the sea and the land in early August to destroy the sea front city of Valvettiturai as a reprisal to the killing of two naval personnel. They burnt over 100 shops mostly owned by Muslims at the north-western town in retaliation to the slaying of six soldiers near Mannar.
(INTERNATIONAL COURIER, March 1985)

MILKING THE CRISIS

'Jayewardene has been dispatching envoys with almost indecent frequency to western capitals to drum up support both moral and physical while

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Quotable quotes

'The country will face economic disaster if the present bloodshed goes on for more than six months.

Ronnie de Mel, Minister of Finance, 'Island', 3.6.85

Following the Anuradhapura massacre and the killings at the Sri Maha Bodhi, a strange change has taken place within me and it has increased my strength and vigour tenfold.'

— Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of National Security 'Island', 27.5.85

'Since the Tamils and Muslims are minorities they must join hands as members of a single community to fight for their rights.'

— M.I. Uthumalebbe, Director, All Ceylon Muslim League, 'Island', 25.5.85

'Mr S. Thondaman is emerging as the national hero of the country with well over five lakhs of membership in his estate employees' congress. The estate workers of the Congress were emerging distinctly as the new rich class in the country.'

— Ven. Madihe Pannasiha Mahamayake Thero, 'Island' 22.5.85

'Forty-five per cent of the people of Sri Lanka are opposed to the present government.'

Anandatiss de Alwis, Minister of State, 'Island' — 19.5.85

'Few will dispute that Sri Lanka is today caught in the most tragic impasse of its recent history, but what we wonder is whether everybody realises the true dimensions of the tragedy which hit the country.'

— Editorial, 'Island', 19.5.85

'Nobody in the (Sri Lanka) Cabinet is looking for the best solution to the Tamil problem. They are not thinking of Sri Lanka's future, but of their own.'

— Dr Colvin R. de Silva, 'Island', 7.6.85

Jayawardene (President) is now talking of imposing martial law. What he doesn't realise is that in a small country like Sri Lanka, the army can easily take over.'

— Major Gen. Prakash Pasricha, Deputy Director, India's Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, 'Newsweek', 17.6.85

The country is at the crossroads. The choice before the country is clear. Are we to take the low road and become the Beirut of Asia or take the high road and fulfil our promise as an emergent Asian nation? The price of failure to arrive at an agreement now will be nothing more than the tearing apart of the entire Sri Lankan polity.'

— Editorial, 'Island', 29.5.85

'While President Jayawardene's dilemma is understandable, Sri Lanka's long-term in term interests would be better served if he came to grips with the problem at home instead of seeking succour abroad.'

— 'New Statesman', (London), 22.4.85

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FROM PAGE 18

his trigger-happy soldiers continue to massacre Tamils with unbridled abandon. Though the latter have had more success than the former, there is a growing feeling that Jayewardene is determined to milk the crisis for everything it is worth before finally, and dramatically, coming up with a diplomatic compromise acceptable to the Tamils, many of whom are wearied of the constant harassment.

Cash registers

But therein lies the rub. The kind of international attention Sri Lanka is attracting could boomerang badly. The well-stocked bar at Colombo's popular Supper Club nightspot is currently frequented with the new kind of tourist the island has been attracting lately – arms dealers. With their arrival has emerged from the panelled woodwork the ubiquitous Coomar Narains of Colombo, influential middle men with cash registers where their hearts should be. In the current situation, with Israeli Mossad and British Special Air Services (SAS) personnel engaged in training and equipping Sri Lanka's unruly armed forces, there is not much that is secret about Sri Lanka's defence or diplomatic plans. In an interview to a Colombo journalist last year, an Israeli spokesman frankly admitted that 'this marks our return to Asia'. The insecurity has opened other negative avenues. Under an agreement with the US, a transmitter has been erected ostensibly for the use of the 'Voice of America'. Significantly, Colombo has no editorial control on the programmes and even more significantly it happens to be the most powerful VOA transmitter anywhere outside the US. Defence analysts view it as a possible communication relay facility between Diego Garcia and the Pine Gap communication centre in Australia and deem it capable of jamming Indian defence communication systems.

The greater danger is of course, one that normally confronts tinpot dictators of banana republics — the possibility of an army coup. There is little likelihood of that happening while Jayewardene is alive and kicking but the moment he bows out would make for a different ball game altogether. The Sri Lankan army is universally acknowledged as one of the worst and the most indisciplined in the world. After having been confined to the parade ground for the last 30 years, they are now suddenly the focus of international attention."

(INDIA TODAY, March 15, 1985)

TOURIST HOTEL BLOWN UP

Tamil guerrillas blew up the Moonlight Beach Hotel situated near the eastern port city of Trincomalee on June 10. The 72-room tourist hotel was completely destroyed.

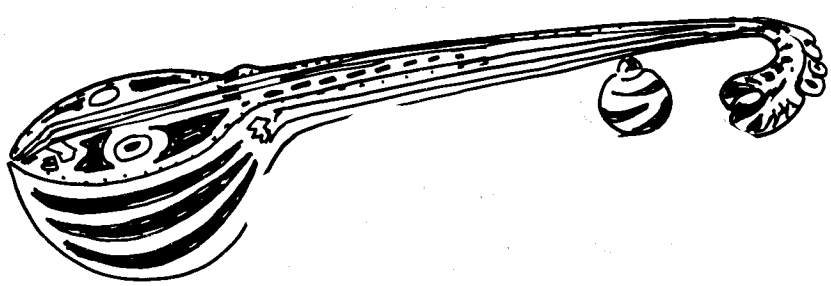
The reason for the attack upon the hotel would appear to be that it had remained closed for a week and that the army was going to convert it into their barracks.

The Moonlight Beach was one of the principal hotels overlooking the golden beaches at Nilaveli, ten miles north of Trincomalee, which became a favourite resort for western tourists.

FROM PAGE 15

interrupted. We had a duty by our children which cannot be forsaken under the pretext of living in turbulent times. As far as the people in the North were concerned, education was everything to them, and everything was lost when education was lost.'

A resolution was passed unanimously requesting the powers that be to restore Hartley College and the Methodist Girls College, Point Pedro, to their earlier premises, so that there may be a uniformity in education, as at present the students of these schools were scattered in different neighbouring schools.



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For further details, please telephone 01-904 3937 or 01-567 3333.

CLOSING DATE 20th JULY 1985

The annual prizegiving of the West London Tamil School will be held on 13th July at Greenford High School, Ruislip Road, Greenford, Middx, at 6.30pm. Prof. L. Kuper, Emeritus Professor of Sociology, University of California and Committee Member, International Alert, will be Chief Guest.

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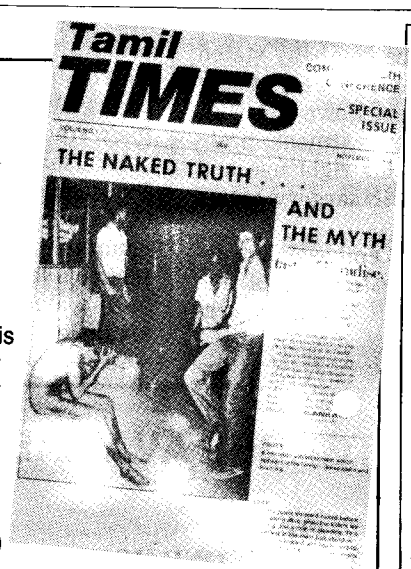

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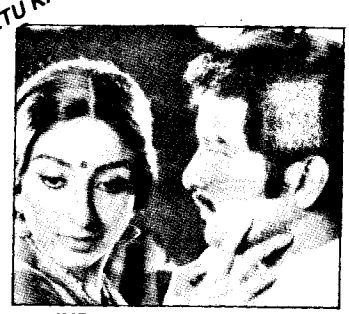

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Good-natured, educated, Sri Lankan Christian Tamil lady, 33 years, excellent family background, interested in classical music, settled in North America, seeks a professional with similar interests. Replies treated in strictest confidence. Box M32 c/o Tamil Times.

Parents seek professionally qualified, Hindu Tamil Sri Lankan bridegroom in employment, 30-35 years, for their homely, attactive, professionally qualified working daughter (British citizen). Please write with horoscope. Box M33 c/o Tamil Times.

Doctor brother seeks partner for sister, 23 years, living in UK, partly qualified accountancy and computers. Students considered. Box M34 c/o Tamil Times.

Chemistry honours graduate, 35 years, teaching in Guyana after 1983 riots seeks suitable bridegroom. Contact doctor sister in UK. Box M35 c/o Tamil Times.

Doctor would like a groom for 20-year-old nurse daughter. Should be professionally qualified and under 25. Box M36 c/o Tamil Times.

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AMERICAN ENGINEER SHOT

An American engineer was shot at and seriously injured by the Sri Lankan security forces on May 23, in the heart of Colombo. Mathew Flanagan, an employee of the California-based engineering consultancy, was returning from the Katunayake Airport after helping his wife to board a plane to London. As he was finding his way through the Fort in Colombo, he became the victim of the trigger-happy military.

Military truck

A foreign lady who came to Mr Flanagan's aid saw a military truck drive up, stop and then drive off without inquiring or making any attempt to offer assistance. It is speculated that if not for the presence of this foreign lady at the scene of the shooting, the security forces might have put the blame on the 'Tamil Tigers' for the attack.

In a statement, the company stated that Mr Flanagan was very badly injured and had been flown the USA for urgent operative treatment; probably he would lose his right eye and need extensive plastic surgery on his face.

Meanwhile, the US embassy has demanded a full investigation of the incident by the Sri Lankan government.

RUINS OF INDIAN CITY FOUND UNDER SEA

Divers searching the Arabian Sea bed near Dwarka, one of the seven great Hindu pilgrimage sites, believe they have found remains of the original site of Dwarka, legendary capital of the Hindu god Krishna, according to newspaper reports.

Earthenware

Earthenware and other artifacts that can be attributed to Dwarka have been found off the coast of Gujarat state in western India, newspapers said. They said archaeologists believe ancient Dwarka was established about 1500 B.C. but was submerged by the rising Arabian Sea in the following 200 years.

Dr S.R. Rao, leader of the team of divers and scientists, was quoted as saying that discovery of the city seal, depicting a bull, a unicorn and a goat, established a link between Dwarka and the Middle East.

TAMIL COURSE FOR MUSLIMS

Mr Haleem Ishak, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party MP for Colombo Centra. has requested that Tamil-oriented courses should be established in the University of Colombo from 1985 to enable Muslim students to continue their studies.

Mr Ishak, in a letter addressed t President Jayawardene, has stated that students belonging to the Muslim community were unable to continue their university education in northern Jaffna due to the prevailing tense situation there.

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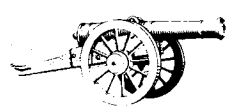

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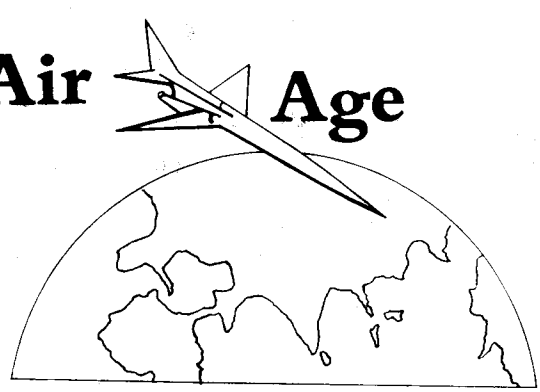

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